1:Levi-Strauss--1 E-5 (1938-1939)1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAMBIKWARA INDIANS

by

C. Lévi-Strauss

INTRODUCTION

● 101 The name of the Nambikwara appears in ethnological literature from the eighteenth century on; but it seems useless here for us to [114] compile references reduced to a more or less distorted citation of the tribal name and to the approximate indication of the territory occupied by the group. In fact, with the exception of the name, which seems to be a surname of Tupi (1) origin, the Nambikwara remained

1. Cf. below, page 129, footnote 1.

practically unknown until the time of their discovery in 1907, by General (then Colonel) Candidio Mariano da Silva Rondon. From this date on, we are directly or indirectly indebted to the Rondon Commission for all the information available concerning them.

000 It is known that in 1907 Colonel Rondon was given a commission by the Brazilian government to explore the territories which extend approximately 1, 500 kilometers from the village of Diamantino to the Madeira River. This was to precede the construction of a strategic telegraph line connecting the federal capital with the frontier outposts of the northwest. In the course of a first expedition begun in 1907, Rondon succeeded in reaching the Juruena, principal source of the Tapajoz, unknown up to that time. This discovery took place the twentieth of October. A second expedition, begun in 1908, permitted the opening of a land route toward the Madeira. This was the first objective of the mission entrusted to General Rondon which 177 was realized on December 25, 1909. It was during these two expeditions that contact was established for the first time with the Nambikwara.

The laying of the telegraph line continued through the Indian territories from 1909 to about 1915. During this period and since, there have been regular, although intermittent, relations between the Indians and the members of the telegraph commission--construction

137 On such soil and in such a climate, vegetation is reduced to some sparse, stunted trees, some angular bushes where thorny plants predominate. Upon the arrival of the rains, the land becomes covered in an incredibly short time with flowers and tall grasses. But during the other seven months, these plants wither and dry up (when the brush fires of the Indians do not do away with them completely) and the sand, white, red or ocher according to the region, appears in large
136 tracts under the charred branches. This is the time when the rare
137 small game which wanders across the plateau concentrates in the impenetrable groves (capões) whose rounded dome marks the presence of springs. There the animals find small pastures still green, usually bordering the narrow ribbon of forest which borders the rivers.

133 The courses of water are numerous and important, the two principal groups forming respectively the basins of the Juruena and of the Roosevelt. All the valleys are approximately parallel, and their waters flow toward the north. They cut the plateau by as many longitudinal ditches, and their course is cut up by cascades of rapids, sometimes also by waterfalls—for example, the falls of the Papagaio River at Utiarity, the falls of the Sacre River, and the rapids of the Juruena. These accidents correspond to the passage from sedimentary soil to crystalline rocks which reappear in the middle part of the Amazon basin. In their upper courses, owing to the nature of the terrain, the rivers have deep beds sometimes reaching a depth of some thirty meters. The water remains so transparent, however, that one can easily see the bottom and the fish which swim around. These conditions aggravate the food problem even more. The fish sees the fisherman through the crystal green and escapes him without fail. This is true especially concerning the branches of the Tapajoz. When one reaches the lowlands of the valley of the Madeira, one does not only go from prairie to humid forest, the water courses [6] are also transformed, with the beds flat and muddy, and the waters a reddish color.

101 One can see that the frontiers of the territory occupied by the
131 Nambikwara correspond—roughly in the south and north, and almost exactly in the northwest—to the limits of the plateau. Toward the east, where the border follows closely the course of the Juruena, the Nambikwara border the Paressi and the Iranşe Indians who occupy the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

161 It is impossible to estimate even approximately, the number of Nambikwara population since their territory remains to a large extent unknown. But it seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the construction of the telegraph line (around 1915-1920) this number must have been about five times more than at present. In postulating

a density of constant population for the whole territory, one might admit a total figure of 10,000 inhabitants at the time of discovery, corresponding to 2,000 or 3,000 today, and probably even less. Our itinerary had been drawn up with the main purpose of putting us in contact with the greatest possible number of Indians. After five months of traveling across their territory, we had only encountered 200; that was the actual mean of a single Nambikwara band twenty years ago. Today the nomad band consists of from 4 or 5 to 30 or 40 members. This demographic decrease is explained by the introduction of diseases of other races after the first penetration of the territory in 1907. The few numerical data which it was possible for us to collect will dispense with all commentary. Fifteen years ago, the known fraction of the Sabané group numbered more than 1,000 individuals; when the group visited the telegraph station of Campos Novos in 1928, there were counted 127 men plus women and children. In November of 1928 however, an epidemic of grippe broke out, when the group was camping at a place known to the telegraph employees by the name of Espirro. The illness rapidly evolved toward a form of pulmonary oedema, and 300 Indians died in 48 hours. The whole group disbanded, fleeing the malady and leaving behind the sick and dying. Of the 1,000 Sabané formerly known, only 19 men survived along with their wives and children. Besides the epidemic it should be added, to explain these astounding figures, that the Sabané were at war several years ago with certain eastern neighbors (group a2) (1).

1. See the classification of the Nambikwara group, below, p. 10 f.

But a large group of dialect b2, installed not far from Tres Buritis, was completely liquidated by the grippe in 1927 except six or seven persons of whom only (2) three were still living in 1938. The Tarundé

2. See below, p. 51.

group, [7] formerly one of the most important, still had 12 men (besides women and children) in 1926; of these 12 men, 4 only were living in 1939.

A southern group of dialect b1 (Kabişi) seems to have resisted better; undoubtedly because their contacts with the people of the Line are rare. From 1929 to 1934, no Kabişi had been seen along the telegraph line. The Indians perhaps circulated more to the south

101 where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned,
161 must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabişi. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and

[163] 1. See below, p. 52.

owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

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114 All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of
101 the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast,
197 the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camararé Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunzé, who occupy the basin of the Doze de Otubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uaintaçu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Doze de Otubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Taruté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 20 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

101 Tamainde, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
114 comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
197 the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -ĵore, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taiaté, and the name Tamainde was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b1) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

121 What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
[28] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

197 This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjutu, -kedutsu -kititu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Doze de Otubro River and the Camarare River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

197 sub-group b1 with the verbal suffix -dige or -dage, and a sub-group b2, in all points identical to the preceding except the verbal suffix of the form [10] -ʃore. The region of the dialect b1 extends from the right bank of the Guaporé in the south to the lower course of the Tenente Marques and Iké Rivers in the north, and from the basin of the Doze de Otubro River in the east, to a region terminating above the right bank of the Roosevelt River to the west. One hears dialect b2 from the upper basin and the middle basin of the Roosevelt River to the juncture of the Barão de Malgaço and Commemoração de Floriano Rivers.

In these semantic and morphological characters, dialect c departs clearly from the preceding. We have not progressed far enough in studying it linguistically to decide whether or not it is correct to include it in the Nambikwara family. It is spoken in a region situated to the north and northeast of the region of dialect a2.

We shall now attempt to establish a correlation between our classification and the previous outlines.

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1. Group a.

Sub-group a1.

From the vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto at the end of Rondonia, and from geographic indications which he furnished, one can conclude that his Kokozu (which form his group in the southeast) certainly corresponds to our sub-group a 1. Nevertheless, we have not been able to find the term Kokozu (P. de Souza: Cocozu) again. The ending -u indicates dialect a 1; but the term koko belongs to the Paressi language and to the dialects of group c, with the same meaning "maternal uncle." It is completely unknown in the system of parentage of group a. According to our information, group a 1 would be called:

1. ualiʃere by group b 1;
2. ualiriri´te by group c;

and it is divided into numerous bands who call themselves, or who give these names to one another:

3. oakletosu (right bank of the Juruena);
4. halotesu (left bank of the Juina);
5. kiaaru (surname: "the liars"; upper-Juruena);
6. kuri´tsu (left bank of the Juruena).

1/1 [Map No.1 follows here. - Analyst]

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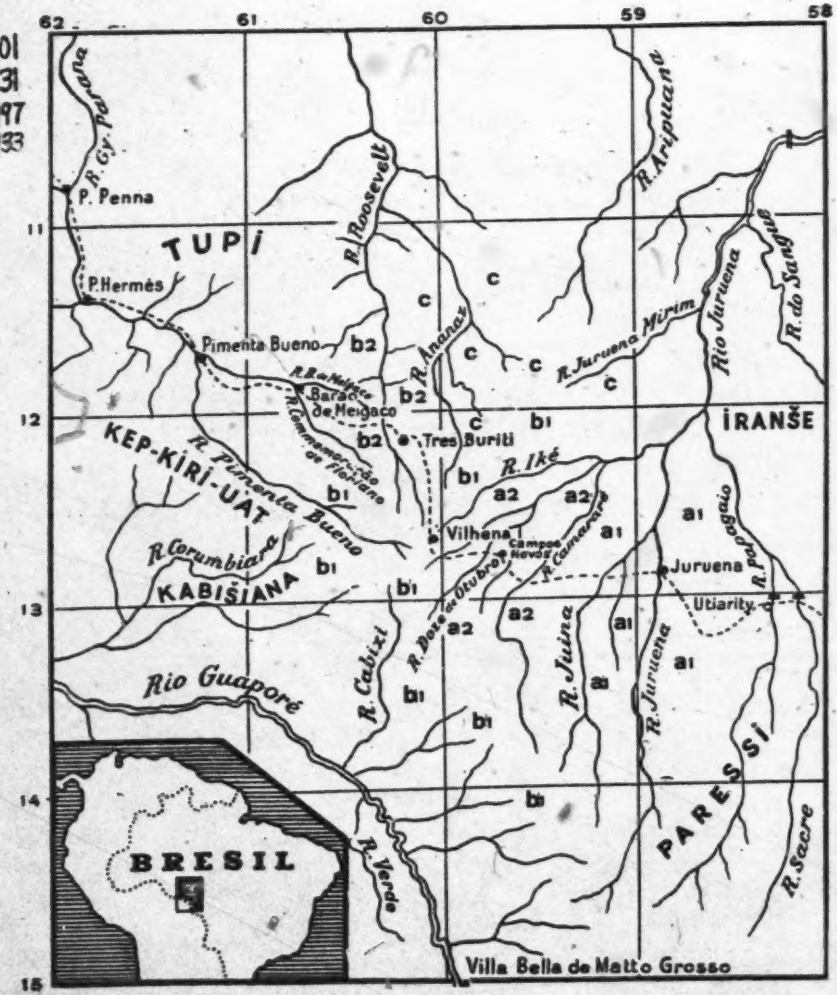

Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

101 Group a 1 is in contact with the Iranşe Indians, whom they call:
197 7. iraˀsu (at the juncture of the Clavary and do Sangue Rivers).

[11] Sub-group a2.

These are the Anunzu, Anunzé, or the southeast group of Roquette Pinto (P. de Souza: Anonzé). The brief vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto following his own vocabularies also belongs to this group. We have never found the term Anunzé nor the other forms, but only the names,

8. soˀlesu (a 1/2);
9. kakaˀteli (b 1);
10. munuˀkoti (c).

II. Group b.

Sub-group b1.

Our sub-group b 1 includes the Uaintaçu, Uaindzé (Rondon: Uainedezi), Kabixi, Tagnani (Rondon: Tagnani), Tauité (Rondon: Tauité), Tarité, Taschuité (Rondon: Tachivuité) of Roquette Pinto, that is his two groups, southwest and northwest. We have never found the term Tagnani, nor, as a name of a band, the terms tauitte, tarute, tasuitte, which signify respectively, in the system of parentage of group b, "my child," "my brother-in-law," "my relative to the third degree." The Paressi apply the name Kabisi to group b. For the term Uaintaçu, we have found an equivalent:

11. oãindesu (a 1),

which designates group b. On the other hand, we have collected the following appellations:

12. nikedetosu (a 1; to the west of the Camararé River);
13. tarũnde (b 1; basin of the Doze de Otubro River);
14. maimãnde (b 1; --Kabisi [Paressi] Mama-Inde [Rondon]; sources of the Doze River and right bank of the Guaporé);(1)

1. It seems that the southern frontier of the maimande group is rather on the course of the tributaries of the right bank of the Guaporé River. The Guaporé strictly speaking is inhabited by river tribes, distinct from the Nambikwara in tongue and culture. But these tribes

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know and fear the Indians called Kabişi, this as far away as the São Miguel River (Haseman, "Some notes on the Pawumwa Indians of South America," American Anthropologist, 1912, p. 333). To add to the obscurity which still covers the problem of the southern frontiers of the Nambikwara, the Paressi of the south, who live to the east of the sources of the Juruena, are also known by the name of Kabişi (Max Schmidt, "Reisen in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1912, Vol. 44, pp. 146-176). Today they have intermingled or disappeared.

[12] 15. mamaindeti (c; identical to the preceding, and, by extension, to the whole group b 1);
16. itamolo (c; toward the south).

Sub-group b 2.

This dialect had never been pointed out, except by the short vocabulary published by Max Schmidt and attributed to a Tamainde group. We have collected the following names:

17. toainde (b 1; left bank of the Barão de Malgaço River);
18. idiola (c; same region);
19. naselate (b 1; between the Tenente Margues and Roosevelt Rivers.
20. lakonde (b 1; right bank of the Roosevelt River);
21. sovainte (c; same region);
22. navaite (b2 [Rondon: Navaite]; Roosevelt River);
23. taiate (b2; Roosevelt River).

III. Group c.

This group seems not to have been studied. Only Rondon mentions, without geographic or dialectic information, a group Sabane and a group Taia. This last term belongs to the system of parentage of group c with the meaning "elder brother (or sister)"; we have never found it as a name of a band. On the other hand, group c calls itself by the name:

24. sabane (c),

and is called by other groups:

25. toantesu (a 1/2;
26. tamainde (b 1/2).

IV. Names of Other Nambikwara Groups.

101 For the terms Malutundu, Ualutnudu, Ua-lut-ndu (Roquette
197 Pinto), Malotundu (Rondon), we have an equivalent:

27. malõnde (b 1),

which, nevertheless, has been given to us with the general sense of "Indian" (maãlone, b 1 = "it is an Indian") as opposed to "Brazilian" (keiaõgere, b 1 = "the dressed").

We have not been able to collect any equivalent for the following terms cited [13] by Roquette Pinto and Rondon to designate Nambikwara groups: Taiopa (Roquette Pinto), Teiobé (Rondon), Tayopa (P. de Souza) (1), Xaodikokas (Roquette Pinto), Xaodes (Rondon), Xaodys (P. de Souza), Nêné (Rondon), Minis (Rondon), Payates (Relatorios de Commissão Rondon, passim). The authors mentioned do not furnish any precise information concerning the dialect and the geographic situation of these groups.

1. There is a term of parentage iõpa which belongs to dialect c with the sense of "brother-in-law," but the possessive t or ta comes from dialect b.

V. Names of Other Tribes

Roquette Pinto cites the term Saluma as belonging to his northwest group. We have documented it under the forms:

28. solõnde (b 1);

29. soloma (c);

to designate a northern tribe strange to the Nambikwara. As von den Steinen cites the name Suruma, given, he says, by the Paressi to the Munduruku, this interpretation seems more reasonable. Group c calls the Paressi,

30. iamaãte iñaraka (c)

and recognizes at least the existence of three other northern tribes,

31. ikatinaui (c);

32. kaŋali (c);

33. jerakolõnte (c).

Sub-group b 1 at times mentions a tribe living around the Barão de Malgaço River,

34. ikanõere (b 1).

121 In other publications (2) we have brought up the question of
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2. On dual organization in South America, América Indígena, Mexico, 1944. On certain structural similarities of the Chibcha and Nambikwara languages. Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947.

knowing if the type of life of the Nambikwara, apparently very primitive, does or does not constitute the authentic vestige of ancient conditions. Considered in the present, their level of culture is certainly very low. They live naked, especially the women, who only wear a thin string of buriti beads around the waist, some earrings, necklaces worn around the neck or looped over the shoulder, [14] bracelets made from the tail of the large armadillo, and, sometimes, some narrow bands of cotton woven by their husbands, or some buriti straw, tightly bound around the biceps, and wooden pins. Besides the same ornaments, the men sometimes put on a sort of straw pompom, fastened to the waist above the sex organs, and smaller ones, attached to cotton bracelets; on the other hand, they do not wear shell bracelets. The complete ignorance of the hammock and the Nambikwara
[513] custom of sleeping on the ground (or, more rarely, on long strips of the bark of the palm tree paxiuba) has intrigued ethnologists for a long time. This sentiment is shared by neighboring tribes, and the
● [101] Paressi, mentioning this peculiarity, call the Nambikwara Uaikoakoré, "those who sleep on the ground."

221 The Nambikwara year must be divided into two distinct periods. During the rainy season (from October to March), each group settles on some small elevation rising above the course of some stream. The Indians then construct crude huts with curious variations in form and materials. They burn clearings in the approaches to the forests which
221 occupy the humid valley floor, and there they plant and cultivate
241 gardens principally with the starch-yielding plants of the manihot genus (sweet and bitter) and tobacco, sometimes some peas, cotton, peanuts, and calabash (Lagenaria sp.). They grate the yucca (manioc) on planks covered with the sharp bark of the palm tree, they press it with the aid of a piece of twisted bark. The garden produce furnishes food resources sufficient for part of the sedentary period, and even of use later: the Nambikwara preserve the yucca by burying the residue of the grated pulp in the ground.

221 At the arrival of the dry season, they abandon the village, or rather the site of temporary residence, and each group "breaks up," if one can say that, into several nomadic bands. For about seven

carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude everywhere else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often heard in festivals.

142 The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paressi, Tupi-Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was the object of research of Dr. J.-A. Vellard, who was part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim, and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimensions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of characteristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physical type far removed from that encountered most often in South America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of southern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

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The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm themselves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition. The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement, and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed, and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

591 A27 with his son A28. All this offers a very confusing spectacle,
621 and it is not the only case among the Nambikwara where the sociologist feels discouraged from deducing fixed rules. In a case such as that of the rules of residence, the answers of the Indians and the study of the facts might lead one to conclude that these rules do not exist, but such a conclusion should not be accepted except with the most extreme reservations. We shall be forced from time to time to insist on the fact that, in a society whose demographic base is broken up in a very short space of time, the traditional rules might be clouded by the necessity of solving cases which have become individual and concrete by force of things. Among peoples who live under such strenuous conditions, a certain distribution in elementary associations of individuals of different sex and age might be decisive to assure the means of existence for each of them. Many family combinations seem thus to result from immediate necessities. It could also be that the rules exist, and are based on sociological
181 reasons which escape us. A society made up of wandering bands which one never finds again with the same composition after a few weeks interval because certain members or families have left it, while others have come to join up; whose camps never offer the same exact distribution from day to day; whose winter huts are most
[609] often destroyed during the dry season; who flee one another, chase one another or attack each other in frequent conflicts, and about which the least one can say is that in periods of peace, they avoid one another; whose [50] material culture, reduced to the strict minimum, puts into use only rudimentary techniques where social differentiations cannot be expressed; such a society offers to the sociologist ever-changing material, that is fleeting and often cannot be grasped. In very numerous cases, its laws of organization escape analysis and, supposing that they exist, could not be discovered except on the occasion of an extended visit, not only during the period of the nomadic life, but also of the sedentary life.

621 Central and southern group, dialect b1: tarũnde, maimãde (b1); mamaindeti (c) oaindesu, nikwdetosu (a1).

We have divided the encampment of the two groups b1 and c. The latter is composed of 17 persons divided into five fires. Both
[101 were wandering in the zone of the line of the separation of waters
131] between the Tapajoz and the Madeira (Vilhena Rivers). We shall

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the Gé and the Botocudo in its material culture. (1) In other terms, it

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1. We do not mention the Botocudo by chance. The term "Nambikwara" seems to be a surname of Tupi origin, with the sense of "large ears" (Nhambikwara). However, the Indians who use this name do not use the "bodoque" or any other ornament bringing on the same malformation. Yet it is possible that the name was originally applied to a tribe—or group of tribes—different from that which finally inherited it. In 1931, the telegraph post of Parecis, located 80 kilometers from Diamantino, was attacked and destroyed by some unknown Indians, who descended from an unexplored region somewhere between the Ariños River and the do Sangre River. Since that time, they have repeated their sorties at irregular intervals, so that it was necessary to change the trail going to Utiarity (on the Papagaio River)about 80 kilometers to the south of the telegraph line. The fires of Indian camps were clearly visible at the time of our passage to Parecis, in January 1939. Thanks to two severed heads, brought back a number of years ago by some garimpeiros (searchers of diamonds) who had a bone to pick with these Indians, it is known that the latter wear in the lobe of the ear and in the lower lip some large disks of light wood which recall those of the Suia and Botocudo. For this reason then, they are now called, by the diamond seekers and the gatherers of rubber of the region, by the name of Beiços de Pau, "Mouths of wood." The story is surprising, for people up to then were convinced that the Paressi had remained the sole occupants of these territories, and they themselves seemed completely ignorant of the presence of these dangerous neighbors. We have not found in literature any reference to the "Beiços de Pau" since the beginning of the 18th century; but at that time there is precise testimony: "Further on there is another tribe called Mahibarez... their language differs only slightly (from that of the Paressi), and they have ears with very long pierced lobes which in some of them hang to the shoulder, these being neighbors of the Paressi... and moreover they carry some short swords made from very strong wood. This people lives toward the northern part"

(Antonio Pires de Campos, "Breve noticia, etc.," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 25, 1862, p. 445). Cf. also C. Lévi-Strauss, "The name of the Nambikuara," American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, 1945. 101

is the problem of a syncretistic culture which one finds so frequently in South American ethnology. 157 182

When taken from the geographical point of view, the statement of the problem is easily reconstituted. One may ask one how best to interpret the presence of a nucleus of low cultures placed symmetrically, as regards the tributaries of the right bank of the Amazon, to that which occupied, and still occupies, eastern Brazil. Under the two wings of the "T" which sketches the distribution of far more evolved cultures of the Amazon valley, and the Madeira, with the long vertical zone which extends from the Xingu to the Tocantins, the low level Gé to the east, and the Nambikwara to the west, produce an equilibrium, like isolated islands. In the case of the Nambikwara, a supplementary problem is raised, that of the duality of their culture and their type of life. The latter can be explained either by taking as a basis the most elementary form of adaptation, and by assuming the borrowing of agricultural life from groups of a more evolved culture, or by leaving the higher form as an impoverishment determined by cultural isolation, or by the [130] suppression in particularly inhospitable regions which would have imposed secondary forms of adaptation. However, it is only by an appeal to all the available sources of information which should include, besides sociological studies, the study of the language and the material culture, and by comparison with the groups living in the same geographic atmosphere, that an attempt to interpret these problems can reasonably be undertaken. 121

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THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

101 The *Nambicuara* (*Nambikuara, Mambyuara, Mahibarez*) have been identified only recently. *Nambicuara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupi* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiços de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondón discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambicuara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambicuara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

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131 Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambicuara* (map 1, *No. 2;* map 2; map 4)[1] is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Guaporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

101 The first classification of the *Nambicuara* was made by Roquette-Pinto (1938, pp. 216–217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b), 197 using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is undivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kôkôzu, Cocozu*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambicuara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anunze*) in the basins of the Camararé and Doze de Otubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

[1] [Not processed for the File. - Analyst]

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Nambicuara (Roquette-Pinto's *Uaintaçu*, which includes his *Kabishi*, *Tagnani*, *Tauitê*, *Tarutê*, and *Tashuitê*) between the Guaporé River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marqués, Iké and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara;* one called *Saluma, Saruma,* or *Solondé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú;* another may be the *Tapanyuma.*

In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha.*

Nambicuara culture, although less primitive than that of the *Sirionó* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressí* to the southeast and of the *Tupi-Cawahíb* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Guaporé River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both seminomadic bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Oronoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

[101]
181
648 The Paressí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicura in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance "bastante" becomes *marante*, "pequeno" becomes *shibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "crianca" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 Compared with their neighbors, the Paressí and
171 Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paressí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paressí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paressí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuara, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabishí. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço
101 to the west. The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuara is occupied by the remnants of the Paressí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 128-135.-A.] [p. 85(B)]

101 are their enemies whom they call the Salundé or Salõosú, probably the Apiões whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[197] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into
131 an Eastern and a Western group. Both the
101 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elótasu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Suina River; the Waklítisu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwáisu now including the Hégndisu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindisu on the Kabishí River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Tãondisú and Suédndisu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Waklítisu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Waklítisu, Elótasu, and Kitánhlu the Iritoa; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwáisu and Hégndisu are called the Manduca by the local people, and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoa and Manduca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability
621 has arisen from the changes in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite
621 conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

648 Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

797 Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and Catholic missions are, therefore, located in Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To 101 the east and south are the remnants of the 797 Paressí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who, although not speaking the Paressí language, appear to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further northward are tribes with which the missionaries are planning to make contacts. To the west are the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly terms there is considerable tension between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are competing for the allegiance of the same Indian population.

ECONOMY

222 224 Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting agriculture, their dependence upon the wild animal and plant life of the region is so extensive that they might well be classed as nomadic hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau provides little in the way of agricultural land, game, or fish. What little farming is practiced 241 is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the headwater streams.

[p. 87(A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
N
BI

GEOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS

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Most of the series measured in northern Mato Grosso are from tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin (maps 1, 3). These are the Anetí, Trumaí, Bacairí, Nahuqua, and Camayurá. Their present locations are indicated in map 2, (p. 5), and data on their earlier shiftings are given by Lévi-Strauss (1948, p. 322–323). As Oberg has said (p. 6), the fanlike network of rivers constituting the drainage basin of the Upper Xingú River affords no natural barriers and makes for easy intertribal communication by water. But the limits of the Upper Xingú Basin to the east, west, and south are marked by the sandstone plateaus of the Brazilian Shield. These barriers tend to isolate the Basin from the outside world, thus fostering its development as a riverine cultural unit (p. 7).

West of the Upper Xingú Basin, on the semiarid plateau, the Serra do Parecís, are the Paressí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara. In earlier times, most of these people were concentrated along the "galeria" forests bordering the headwaters of rivers originating on the plateau. The location of the Iranxe at white contact was immediately north of the Paressí. The Nambicuara were thinly scattered in the less habitable areas west of the Paressí. In contrast to the more populous Upper Xingú tribes, the Paressí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara are now remnant groups.

Across the semiarid plateau, or Planalto do Matogrossense, which forms the southern barrier

[p. 128 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
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MAP 2.—Schematic map of approximate tribal locations in relation to topography and drainage systems in northern Mato Grosso. Dotted lines indicate tribal boundaries at time of contact (after Steward and Metraux, 1948). Hachures indicate the general conformation of the Planalto do Matogrossense. Tribes: 1, Bororo; 1a, Umotina; 2, Nambicuara; 3, Iranxe; 4, Upper Xingú tribes; 5, Parecsi; 6, Bacairi; 7, Carajá; 8, Tapirapé; 9, Cayapó. Drainage systems (simplified): A, Upper Xingú; B, Upper Paraguay; C, Paratinga-Verde; D, Arinos-Papagaio; E, Guaporé; F, Gy-Paraná; G, Theodore Roosevelt; H, Araguaia.

[p. 129 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4
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131

of the Upper Xingú Basin, lived the Bororo. With the Guató and others, the Bororo occupied the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay River. As a Bororo subtribe, the Umotina formerly lived between the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay and Sepotuba rivers (Lowie, 1946, p. 419). The São Lourenço group of Bororo, measured by Ehrenreich, inhabited the upper and middle reaches of the São Lourenço River.

To the east of the Upper Xingú Basin, along the Araguaia River, are the Carajá. They are included in this analysis less for their geographic position than for their metric similarity to the Umotina.

[p. 129 (B)]

5:Roquette-Pinto E-4 (no date)1913 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Parecí.

The Parecí give the names Uáikoákorê and Ouihanierê to the Nhambiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Parecí called Uáikoákorê, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákorê is given by the Parecí of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jauxú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacába. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atzíri and the Amuésa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kêtêhê of the Parecí, made from pounded mandioc. The native *breu* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malá-malá palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two concave disks of calabash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malá-malá and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

123 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101 124 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups: Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauitê]. Among the Uaintacu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians 302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[264] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

142 Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A and B.

2 [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]
1 [Nambicuara sub-groups— Analyst]

Brazilian Indians are brachyskelic, and the Nambicuara constitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paressi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Gé group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paressi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Mambyuara, Mambryara, Membyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

7: Roquette-Pinto--17 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

● 101 The geographical range of the name "Nambicuara" is very significant; the term designates these Indians both in Mato Grosso and in Pará. This means that the inhabitants of the Serra do Norte are known by the same name to the north and to the south.

This might lead us to believe that the name is unusually distinctive. However, it is unknown to its bearers and altogether alien to the dialect of any of the groups. It is fitting nevertheless to retain it in order to avoid confusion.

131 The southern boundary of the Nambicuara region is the Papagaio
101 River.

In the north their territory apparently extends to the Gi-Paraná; in the east, to the Tapajoz; in the west, to the Guaporé.

The people who live near the banks of the Juruena and Juina, between the Papagaio and Camararé rivers, [216] and whom I shall name the "southeastern group," are called "Côcôzú" or "Côcôçú."

Those who live along the lower reaches of the Doze de Outubro River are called "Anunzê"; I shall refer to them as the "northeastern group." They probably extend as far as the confluence of the Arinos Juruena rivers, where a few members of the first group are also likely to be found.

[221] Those who live to the southwest of the wintering place [inverndad] at Campos Novos extend down to the Guaporé River; they are called "Uaintaçú" and constitute the "southwestern group."

The great "northwestern group" lives near the Madeira River, on the banks of tributaries of the Gi-Paraná. It seems to consist of various secondary groups related in ways which have not yet been clearly defined. The Indians I encountered at the wintering place of Três Buritis, at the Campos de Quatorze de Abril, at José Bonifacio and at Campos de Maria de Molina all belong to this division. Their principal group lives between the Doze de Outubro and Roosevelt (Rio da Dúvida) rivers.

Of the northern division I found only the Tagnani, Tawite, Saluma, Tarute and Tashwite [Taschuitê]; and I only succeeded in gathering data on the first two.

●101 The Anunze of Campos Novos speak of the "Tayopa" and "Shaodi-Koka" who have not yet been found; in the far north of the region, Rondon has recently discovered tribes such as the Kepikiriwat(1)

1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná and other tribes were described in Missão Rondon [The Rondon Mission] (Rio, 1916), and in the memoirs of Curt Nimuendajú published in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes. The Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 25 (1925) contain "Notas Antropometricas sobre os Indios Urupás [Anthropometric Notes on the Urupa Indians]" by Roquette-Pinto and A. Childe.

which belong to other groups.

The Tagnani and Tawite refer to an enemy tribe which they call "Malutundú," "Ualutdú" or "Ualút-ndú."

[Page of plates 216.]

[217] It is likely that the Indians on whom the Nambicuara [825] have bestowed this name, which means tatu galinha [a nine-banded armadillo, Dasypus tatusia novemcinctus] are the Mundurucu of the Upper Tapajoz.

It is worth noting that the Anunze called the Cocozu "Cocozê," while the latter call the former "Anunzú."

The Cocozu call the southwestern group "Uaintaçú," while the Anunze call them "Uaindzê."

These Uaintaçu or Uaindze are the same people known in the vicinity of Mato Grosso, on the Guaporé River, by the name of "Cabishi"—a term which in turn has been applied by the Paressi in a pejorative way to the Cozarini group of their own tribe.

The Paressi have also bestowed on the Nambicuara the name of "Uaikoákôrê" (Ground Brother) because they sleep directly on the ground.

[142] The Tapanyuna of old, located by the chroniclers on the Upper Tapajoz, must have been Nambicuara of the Cocozu group, who are indeed the darkest people in the whole Juruena Valley. They fit their Tupian appellation of "black men."

101 The position of all groups known to be scattered through the Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is recorded on the ethnographic map of the region which goes with these notes.[1]

[218] The exact meaning of the names cited above cannot yet be given with certainty. In the light of existing data, however, their study leads to the following conclusions which cannot be far from the truth.

Cocozu: "Uncles"; thus called by the others, perhaps, because they are the most primitive members of the whole tribe.

[578] Anunzu: This is clearly a corruption of the term anungzú or anungçú, which means "woman's milk"—a disparaging epithet like so many others found throughout the Americas; it may mean "infants" (unweaned babies).

Uaintaçu: Apparently a corruption of nuntaçú, which means "alligator" [Port. jacaré] in the language of the Juina Nambicuara. The Uaintaçu group would thus be none other than the old Jacare tribe mentioned in the first chapter of this work.

Tagnani: They are obviously the Tamarari of the old geographic maps; they should be equated with the Tamarare or Camarare, who gave the river its name and who are mentioned in several ancient documents.

Tawite: This word signifies "child" or "son" [offspring], a common appellation among other tribes as well.

In order to avoid future confusion, I propose to retain the name "Nambicuara" in conjunction with the specific name peculiar to each group.

361 The villages of the Serra do Norte Indians are usually built on the crest of small hills, far from the watercourses. Some are more than one kilometer distant from the nearest river or stream.

It may be assumed that the choice of such sites has a twofold aim: the Indians suffer less from mosquitoes and they dominate the surrounding territory, which is an advantage to people leading as they did up to now a life of constant warfare.

The village is built on a large plaza, fifty meters in diameter; once cleaned of bush, which is rooted up [219] by hand, the ground [535] is kept clear by the constant tread of feet. One night of dancing, with its endless beat along the same path, suffices to smooth out the village square.

1 [See map following foreign text, cat. 116 - Analyst]